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601 up to the present time. We do not pretend to found a dualistic theory of organization (2) on these limited observations whose

2. This point has been developed before; cf. "Dual organization etc.," loc. cit.

character remains anecdotal. However, we are indeed in the presence of one of those cases where "the fundamental traits of the clan organization are found, in a certain measure, to be preformed in tribes destitute of clan (3)." It would suffice, to

3. R. H. Lowie, "Family and Sib," American Anthropologist, N.S., Vol. 21, 1919, pp. 28-40.

satisfy the exigencies of dualistic organization, that the new group should settle down, and maintain the memory of its ambiguous origin by continuing to avoid confusing the two sets of fires.

N Finally, this system manifests, under a new aspect, this
[648] preponderance of men which we have called attention to as regards inter-individual relationships. It is through the men that alliances of groups are decided, as also eventually, their wars.

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000 The preceding remarks have perhaps another interest: that of suggesting an interpretation of observations of a sociological
N character which one finds scattered in the ancient literature
T relating to South America.
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171 One should first note some striking analogies between certain traits of the Nambikwara kinship system and those which can be attributed to the family organization of the ancient Tupi of the Brazilian shore. It will be seen later that, on the metaphysical plan, there are not only themes common to the two cultures, but that such religious terms of the Nambikwara vocabulary have an evident Tupi origin. Each time that we are to describe the small incidents of the daily life of the Nambikwara, the temptation is almost irresistible [80] to quote Jean de Léry and Yves d'Evreux, for it is so true that the same words of these old authors can literally be applied to one cultuer, later by four centuries. But it is in the kinship system that the resemblances are the clearest: the two cultures invoke

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the three same fundamental principles: distinction of the brothers and sisters of the parents into parallel uncles and aunts called "fathers" and "mothers," and cross-uncles and aunts called "fathers-in-law" and "mothers-in-law"; preferential marriage between cross-cousins, with the concomitant assimilation of parallel cousins to "brothers" and "sisters"; finally avuncular marriage, which seems to have been the rule among the ancient Tupi, in the form of a preferential union between the mother's brother and the sister's daughter. (1)

1. There should be added the distinction of brothers and sisters into "elder" and "younger."

The first principle springs directly—and the other two indirectly—from an important text of Anchieta which we shall quote here:

"But in speaking of relationships they never use this word etê (true) because since they call the brothers of their fathers 'father,' and the sons of their brothers 'son,' and the sons of the uncles, brothers of the fathers, 'brother,' in order to declare who is their true father or son, they say xeruba xemonhangara, my father 'who begot me' and in the case of the son, xeraira xeremimonhanga, my son 'whom I begot'; and thus never did I hear the Indian call his wife xeremireco etê, but rather simply xeremireco or xeraicig, 'mother of my children'; nor did I ever hear a woman call her husband xemenete, 'true husband,' but rather simply xemena or xemembira ruba, 'father of my children'; which terms they use for men with whom they are living as well as for their recognized husbands; and if the husband ever calls one of his wives xeremireco etê, he means 'my most esteemed or dearest wife,' who often is the last one he has taken." (2)

2. "Informação dos Casamentos dos Indios do Brasil," Revista Trimensal del Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. VIII, 1846, I (2nd Series), pp. 254-262; p. 259.

This text offers a supplementary interest. It shows that the Tupi, like the Nambikwara, were not stopped by the problem of the distinction between real parents and classificatory parents. In the two cases, the need of special terms was not felt, and one is limited to referring, when necessary, to physiological considerations. (3)

4. Cf. before, p . [sic]

TN 601 171 The reader will find other indications concerning the assimilation of the brother of the father to a classificatory father in Soares de Souza (4).

4. "Roteiro do Brasil," Revista do Instituto, etc., Vol. XIV, 1851, p. 316-317.

TN 601 582 171 The old authors often describe the marriage of cross-cousins among the Tupi, as well as that of uncle with niece. Here again we shall first refer to Anchieta:

"They do not call daughters of sisters temerico eté, nor are they considered as such; because many Indians, since they have several nieces—and very attractive women they are—do not make use of them; but since brothers have so much power over sisters, they consider that [81] nieces belong to them (the brothers), so that they may consider them as wives and use them ad libitum if they so desire, just as they give their sisters themselves to some men and take them away from others. Taragoaj, a very important Indian of the village of Jaribiatiba, which is in the area of São Vicente, had two wives, and one of them was his niece, daughter of his sister..."(1)

1. Loc. cit., p. 259.

Farther on, the two types of marriage are seen as symmetrical institutions: "...porque os pais lhes dão as filas e os irmãos as irmas." Staden also alludes to the marriage of cousins: "They also offer as a gift their daughters and their sisters." (2) The same type of thing is

2. Hans Staden. The true history of his captivity (ed. Malcolm Letts), London, Vol. II, Ch. 18, p. 146.

TN found in Soares de Souza, Claude d'Abbeville and many others. With a sharp sociological sense, Anchieta discovers a connection [842] between the marriage with the sister's daughter and the recognition of the man as alone responsible for conception. One remembers that this theory is also shared by the Nambikwara:

"Since they respect the daughters of brothers, they call them daughters, and consider them as such; and thus they consider them inviolate because they have a true relationship, coming from the [842] father, who is the agent; and the mothers are nothing more than

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601 receptacles with respect to the fathers, receptacles in which children
•171 are deposited, and for this reason the sons of fathers, if they are born
[82] of slaves or captives taken from another tribe, are always free and
582 just as esteemed as the others; and the sons of women, if these sons are begotten by captives, are considered slaves and are sold, and sometimes they kill and eat them, even though they may be their own grandchildren, sons of their daughters, and for this reason also they use the daughters of sisters with no prejudice at intercourse, but there is no obligation or universal custom to consider them as true wives, more than the others, as has been stated above. And for this reason the fathers marry them now to their uncles, brothers of the mothers, if the parties are agreeable, by virtue of the power which they have to deal with them as they wish, something which until now is not done with nephews, sons of brothers, nor even in other relationships which are more distant and which come through the line of the fathers, because among the Indians this is considered very strange." (3)

3. Loc. cit., p. 259-260.

Without doubt the marriage of cross-cousins is widespread throughout the whole of South America. (4) But among the Tupi it

4. Thus Breton, concerning the Caraïb of the Antilles says: "First cousins whom we call sons of the brothers of the father are called brothers, and these brothers of the father are also called fathers; and the children of these brothers do not contract alliances together, but rather with the children of the sisters of their fathers." (Dictionnaire Caraïbe-François, Auxerre, 1665, p. 11.)

was rather avuncular marriage which held the attention of the first travelers. Thus, Léry notes: "As for the uncle, he takes his niece" (as a wife); and Thevet: "From the time they are born, the maternal uncle raises them and retains them for future wives." (5) Magalhães

5. Léry, loc. cit. II, Ch. XVII, p. 85; Thevet, Cosmogonie universelle, p. 932.

de Gandavo expresses himself inexactly, without doubt, but [82] in

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582 the same sense when he writes: "It is their custom to marry the women who are their nieces, daughters of their brothers of their sisters; they regard them as their true and legitimate wives. The fathers of these women cannot refuse them, and no one, except their uncle, can claim to marry them (1)." One can refer also to

1. Pedro de Magalhes de Gandavo, The Histories of Brazil, The Cortes Society, New York, 1922, II, ch. X, p. 89.

Nobrega, Vasconcellos, Soares de Souza (2).

2. Nobrega, Cartas do Brazil, 1549-1560, Rio de Janeiro, 1931, p. 148;--Vasconcellos, Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil, Lisboa, 1865, I. LXXXII, p. 133; Soares de Souza, Tratado, CLVII, CLII.

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171 As regards polygamy and the distinction, so clear among the Nambikwara, between the first wife devoted to household tasks and the secondary wives, companions of the men and sharing their obligations, it will be remembered that Magallães de Gandavo alludes to a category of women actually unmarried, but who take part in masculine activity (3).

3. Gandavo, loc. cit., II, Ch. 10, p. 89. One will find other information about the family organization of the ancient Tupi in: A. Métraux, La religion des Tupinamba (Paris, Leroux, 1928), passim; —Lafone Quevedo, "Guarani kinship terms as an index of social organization (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21, 1919), p. 421-440; --P. Kirchhoff, "Die Verwandtschaftorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63 , 1931, Ch. 15, p. 182).

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171 All of these observations authorize us to trace a parallel between the extension of the relationship of "brother-in-law" among the Nambikwara, and a custom, seemingly very close, of the ancient Tupi. First we quote from Yves d'Evreux: " A party of Frenchmen was dispersed throughout the villages to live there according to the

1: Lévi-Strauss--95 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
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customs of the country, which is to have Chetouasaps or hosts or godfathers, giving them merchandise instead of money; and this hospitality or godfathership is very strict among them: for they actually consider you their children while you live with them, they go hunting and fishing for you, and moreover their custom was to give their daughters to their godfathers" (4). Farther on he speaks

4. Voyage dans le nord du Brésil. Ed. F. Denis, Leipzig and Paris, II, 14.

of the "French who were lodged by godfathership in these villages."(5)

5. Loc. cit., XXVIII, 109.

The indigenous institution is confirmed by Jean de Léry (6): "it is

6. Loc. cit. II, Ch. 20, p. 133; cf. also, Cardim, Tratado da Terra e da Gente do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 1925, p. 169-170.

to be noted that these words Atourassap and Coton-assap differ, for the first signifies a perfect alliance among them and between them and us, to the extent that the goods of one are common to the other. And also that they cannot have the daughter or the sister of the first named." The "Coton-assap" is consequently, inversely as regards the preceding, privileged in two forms of marriage: that with the sister of his partner, who makes him a "brother-in-law," and that with her daughter, that is an admission to the number of maternal uncles, making of him a theoretical brother of the wife, which leads to the same result.

[83] It is necessary to note another analogy in the relationship between brothers-in-law among the Nambikwara and among the Tupi. All the texts which we have quoted agree in admitting the existence among the Tupi of a sort of authority exercised by the young men over their sisters. The marriage of cross-cousins seems to result from a mutual exchange of sisters among the men who are related in this way. The same thing can be said when the father gives his daughter to his wife's brother. Thus, actual or potential brothers-in-law are tied by a relationship of a special nature, founded on an exchange of services of a sexual order. We have seen that such a relationship also exists among the Nambikwara brothers-in-law, with this difference that among the Tupi these services fall back on the sisters and daughters,

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607 while (besides the preceding form) the Nambikwara brothers-in-law
171 exchange payment directly in the form of homosexual relationships,
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[538] which make up for the absence of an available sister.
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N We may now draw a conclusion. The ancient Tupi were acquainted
171 with two types of preferential marriage: the marriage of cross-
582 cousins, and avuncular marriage. The first appeared normally in
607 the form of an exchange of sisters between two cross-cousins; the
601 second resulted from a privilege over the daughter of the sister exercised by the mother's brother, or conceded to the latter by the sister's husband. In the two cases, the marriage is based on a pact between cross-cousins, brothers-in-law in right or in fact—which is the definition which we have retained for the Nambikwara terms tarúte or iópa. Moreover, this relationship of "brother-in-law" can be established under the name of chetouasap (Yves d'Evreux) or coton-assap (Léry) between individuals which no bond of kinship united before, or relatives of a different or more distant type, and even between strangers (as was the case between French and Indians). The goal was to make possible intermarriage and to amalgamate families or groups, until that time heterogeneous, into a new social unit. One recognizes the procedure which we have described in connection with the fusion of the Sabané and Tarundé (1) groups.

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1. The South American practice of utilizing kinship relationships to translate and establish social ties is attested by Von den Steinen (Unter der Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens, 2 Aufl. Berlin, 1897, p. 286), whom the Bakairi had decided to call "older brother" and the Mehinaku "maternal uncle." We have just established the equality of the terms "brother-in-law" and "maternal uncle" in a system of marriage between cousins (cross-) joined to the avuncular marriage. As to the use of the term "elder brother," this calls for two observations. In the first place, the kinship system of the Bororo, who are not far distant from the Xingu, modifies each generation in two stages of which the one (elder) is assimilated to the younger members of the former generation and the other (younger) to the older members of the next generation. In such a system, an "elder brother" might be, in fact, a real uncle and a potential brother-in-law. The second point brings to a focus the logical difference between